The Southern PATRIOT

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Not By Law Alone . . . . .

The most significant thing that has come out of the 1957 school crisis in Little Rock is the growing realization on the part of thinking people that a legalistic approach to school desegregation—compliance with a court order *only* because it is the "law of the land"—is not enough.

Now that there has been time for the early confusion to clear, the most astute observers of the Little Rock scene are saying that perhaps the real root of the trouble there was not the action of a foolish governor or the violence of the minority of citizens who formed a mob, but the negative approach of those who supported the school board's token integration plan.

Mrs. Grace Lorch made this point in an article in last month's Patriot. A prominent white minister in Little Rock, Colbert S. Cartwright, has developed the theory at length in *The Christian Century*. The basic difficulty, Mr. Cartwright suggests, was that the school board presented desegregation to the public as a thing distasteful to them but one made necessary of an order of the federal government.

Nat Griswold, of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, took the same approach when he was quoted recently in The Louisville Courier-Journal as saying, "Our main attitude has been one of resignation to something that has not been fully accepted in the mind. The big job ahead is to sell integration, not because it is legally right, but because it is morally right."

We have been concerned for some time lest the approach of "desegregation because it is the law of the land" is being overemphasized. Dean James A. Pike

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About Face!

In an important about-face, The Dallas News has come out editorially for gradual integration of the Dallas schools. The city is now under court order to desegregate.

The News proposed "a plan which can reasonably be made the basis of a consent decree . . . to arrive at an intermingling of the races in the school system. . ."

Christmas, 1957

How wide is outer space?
Is it larger than the grace
That dazzles undimensioned in
The thoughts of peaceful men?

How far to catch a moon?
Is the journey worth the stone
Of faith sustained, unflinchingly,
Amid atomic sea?

How long until the dawn?
Is the night so lost that none
The humble star will minister
For fear of rockets' glare?

And what upon the tree?
Diamond tinsel, jet-drawn sleigh,
While in the heart's vast
catacomb
The beat of Christmas numb.

Alfred Maund

—Photo Courtesy Uvalde, Tex., School Board

THE FUTURE FORESHADOWED—This scene at a school in Uvalde, Texas, may remind readers of the famous picture of World War II—raising of the Flag on Iwo Jima. But it will also please and hearten them to know that such activity can take place peacefully in the South in 1957. From left are schoolmates Antonio Santos, Latin-American; Gary Spring, Anglo-American; Martin Stone, Negro American, and Gene Tanamachi, Japanese-American. School Supt. M. B. Morris says "The acceptance of the plans proposed for the integration of all races in the public schools of Uvalde has been a thing which brings joy to any school administrator."

Southern News Roundup

Medal Suggested for Mrs. Lorch

It has been suggested that Congress counter the Eastland Committee's persecution of Mrs. Grace Lorch by giving her the Congressional Medal of Honor for protecting a Negro student from a mob at Little Rock.

Less than two months after her courageous action, Mrs. Lorch was summoned to testify in Memphis at hearings on "subversive activity."

Dr. James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director, issued a statement in Little Rock at the time of the hearings, saying in part:

"Senator Eastland's sending a subpoena to Mrs. Lorch . . . raises the question of whether or not it is subversive for a Southern white woman to treat a Negro child with kindness . . . Congress should abolish Senator Eastland's subcommittee as a massive threat to human decency, and so to the internal security of the Nation . . . [and] should award a Congressional Medal of Honor to Grace Lorch in recognition of her courage . . ."

* * * *

"Present racial tension in part can be interpreted as an encouraging sign that change is taking place," Dr. Herman H. Long declared at the Midwest Meeting of the Congregational Christian Churches.

"Tension, in and of itself, is not exclusively a negative element in the social process. It can and does mean that new adjustments in the encrusted patterns of racial exploitation are being modified . . . The most deadly and immovable situation in race relations is when no one seems to recognize the issues or talks about them."

Dr. Long, a vice-president of SCEF, is director of the Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches, with offices at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

* * * *

In Pleasanton, Texas, under a state law requiring local option elections on desegregation, citizens voted 342 to 88 for integration. Nine Negroes were admitted to the high school the next week. Supt. J. D. Klingeman, the high school principal, and the president of the student body met them at the steps and welcomed them.

* * * *

In the border states where pro-segregation laws are no longer an issue, the next logical and inevitable step toward full democracy is positive civil rights legislation. In line with this, a movement is growing in Louisville, Ky., in support of a city civil rights ordinance to end discrimination in hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other public places. Negro leaders forced the issue into the open this fall furing the election. Publisher Frank Stanley wrote in his column in **The Louisville Defender**: "What Louisville needs is a candidate who will not hedge on the issue . . . The record portends that our community is ready but our politicians are not."

A Way to Help

The Southern Patriot suggests that well-wishers of courageous Mrs. L. C. Bates in Little Rock express their support in concrete and direct terms by subscribing to the Arkansas State Press, 806 W. 9th St.

The State Press is published by Mrs. Bates and her husband, an SCEF board member. It has long been a crusading paper, for the Bates have been working untiringly for racial justice since long before they were catapulted into the national spotlight this fall. They have been victims of cross burnings, attempted bombings, and economic boycotts. Now their paper has lost a great deal of advertising; it should not be allowed to die.

If you subscribe, you will get a good newspaper in the bargain and regular weekly first-hand reports from one of the South's crucial spots.

* * * *

The Birmingham, Ala., Brotherhood of Clergy has approved collection of a "conscience fund" to help pay hospital fees for the Negro laborer who was mutilated recently by Ku Klux Klansmen, and to assist in his rehabilitation. The interracial brotherhood was organized by ministers of several denominations as a "fellowship for understanding and communication." Two of the white men who castrated the Negro have been given 20 years in prison.

Reader Writes Praise For Negro Children

To the Editor:

Permit me to thank you for your very timely and incisive editorial entitled *Today's Hero, The Negro Child.* Pictures of these children going bravely forward with heads erect, jeered at, spat upon, jostled and subjected to bodily injury show clearly their determination to achieve the goal that is rightfully theirs. And as youthful as they are, they seem to be aware of the powerful influence they are having for good on the future of America.

R. Clyde Minor,
Lincoln University,
Jefferson City, Mo.

States Improve Civil Rights Legislation

Advances in civil rights legislation have been made in 12 states in recent months, a study by the American Jewish Congress shows. New laws bar discrimination in employment, education, housing, and public accommodations. Here is the breakdown:

Employment—Colorado and Wisconsin amended their "voluntary" fair employment laws to put teeth in them. This means 13 states now have effective FEP laws. A new FEP law was also adopted by the City of San Francisco.

Education — Missouri, Washington, California, and Illinois enacted laws relating to discrimination in education. Missouri repealed its school segregation laws. The new Washington statute makes it the fourth state to be covered by a broad fair educational practices law. (The others are New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts, which already had such laws.) A number of others have more limited legislation in this area.

Housing — Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Oregon, and Washington—and the city of Los Angeles took steps in this field. With the exception of the Minnesota action, the new state laws prohibit discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, including that under FHA or VA mortgage insurance. Minnesota set up a commission to study housing discrimination. This raised to six the states that prohibit discrimination in at least a part of the housing market.

Public Accommodation—Colorado, Illinois, Oregon, Vermont, and Washington either passed new laws against discrimination in public places or put enforcement features in old ones. This means that 25 states, the majority in the union, now have such laws, although only eight have provided for enforcement by effective administrative procedures.

(Since the AJC report, Chicago has adopted an ordinance banning discrimination in public places.)

Western Kentucky Report

Firmness And Compassion Conquer Mob Violence

By THEODORE A. BRAUN

(The writer of the following article is pastor of Zion United Church of Christ, Henderson, Ky., and a member of the SCEF board. He is one of the white ministers who led the successful movement to break a White Citizens Council boycott of a desegregated school at Henderson. He recently won nationwide commendation for his excellent presentation of the Christian view on integration on the Dave Garroway television show.)

HENDERSON, Ky.—While the world watches the rock-'n-roll antics of the segregationists in Little Rock, news with a capital D is being made elsewhere in the South but it is not making the headlines. For Desegregation in western Kentucky has advanced beyond its 1956 foot in the door.

In the fall of 1956, desegregation strife lapped over into Henderson from the nearby cities of Clay and Sturgis, where the National Guard had to restore order. The Henderson Ministerial Association countered a boycott started by the Citizens Council, and the boycott died.

This fall the story was different at Sturgis. Eighteen Negro students entered the high school and again opposition arose. Crowds gathered and a boycott was attempted. Instead of walking through the crowds, as they did in 1956, Negro pupils were taken to the school in auto caravans. Another adult sat beside each driver in the caravan.

State troopers were much firmer. One woman tried to incite mob violence and took out after two Negro mothers. She was promptly arrested, as was a teenager who tried to come to her rescue. The life then seemed to drain out of the boycotters and agitators.

Inside the school, occasional acts of unkindness and torment are directed at the Negroes, but acceptance and friendship are growing. All but two teachers are very kind, and this helps set the tone.

No Negroes enrolled at Clay this year —mainly because the key Negro mother, Mrs. Louise Gordon, had moved to Indiana with her family. Her husband could find no work within 50 miles.

In Henderson, there are 57 children in integrated schools this year. This results from the fact that Negro parents petitioned the school board for full desegregation at once, but finally settled for six grades.

Over at Grove Center, the leader of the Citizens Council has set up a private school for diehards who don't want to attend integrated schools at Sturgis, Henderson, and elsewhere. Enrollment is 150.

Perhaps the Sturgis of 1957 and Henderson have something to say to Little Rock and the rest of the country. The same kind of faces ,the same wrought emotions, the same lack of preparation and planning for desegregation were evident at all three places. But the future becomes brighter where there is firmness by the authorities, where there is a redemptive minority (sometimes only an individual) willing to make a witness despite the cost, and where there is a possibility of an alternative for the diehards.

Slowly but surely, the leaven of human kindness and Christian compassion begins to pervade the loaf, changing the scene. And in each case, at the heart of the leaven are the heroes of the modern era—the Negro children and youth who continue to maintain calm spirits, nonviolence, and love — inspiring in their white counterparts a like feeling despite themselves. It's a power that can't be denied or defeated!

South Carolinians Speak Up

An interesting and significant booklet, one that should have wide readership, has recently been privately published under the sponsorship of five white South Carolina ministers. It is called "South Carolinians Speak" and is a compilation of articles on desegregation by 12 leading white citizens of the state.

The sponsors call the booklet an attempt to provide a voice for "moderation"— in a state where "not only has communication between the two races virtually ceased, but we have come tragically close to being unable to communicate with one another within our own race." It follows that not all of the articles favor desegregation, and a few will sound to many readers like the same old outmoded southern apologies. But all oppose violent extremes of white supremacy; a few take an unequivocal stand against segregation, and more of them indicate a real soul-searching grappling with conscience on the part of the writer.

On the night of Nov. 19, a dynamite bomb damaged the home of one of the writers, Mrs. Claudia Thomas Sanders of Gaffney, S. C., but nobody was injured.

The publication of the book itself is a constructive step and a courageous act on the part of the ministers who sponsored it. It is available for 50c from South Carolinians Speak, Box 806, Dillon, S. C.

Shippen, 93, Is Still 'Young for Progress'

The oldest official of SCEF—and still actively working for a better world—is Dr. Eugene R. Shippen, Winter Park, Fla. He will be 93 next month.

Dr. Shippen is a retired Unitarian minister. He formerly served the historic Second Church in Boston as well as several other churches in various parts of the country and preached widely both in this country and abroad. Wherever he lived, he was active in work for racial justice. and community betterment. He has been living in Winter Park since 1930.

He writes: "As a mild radical in politics and economics, here I list some of my sins: an internationalist, a free trader, an independent Democrat, a World Federalist and an 'integrationist' or reconciler of races. In my thinking I have tried to be positive rather than negative, favoring conference rather than controversy in public issues, and free thought as opposed to dogmatism. . . . In my ninety-third year I am still young for progress."

Shuttlesworth Hopeful

Three Birmingham white men were freed of charges that they attempted to murder the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister who was attacked and beaten in September when he attempted to enroll his children in a white school. A grand jury refused to indict the men.

Mr. Shuttlesworth wrote in a letter recently: "I bear in my body the scars and wounds of the struggle . . but I believe we should be happy to suffer as Christians; for if there be no suffering there can be no victory. And I can assure you that I speak for thousands here who feel the same way."

Friends of SCEF Get Organized

Friends of SCEF are forming committees in northern, eastern, and western cities to increase moral, financial, and organizational support for SCEF's expanded program of action in the South.

The first committee to complete organization is in Chicago, where the chairman is Dr. Roland P. Mackay, noted neurologist. Successful house parties were held at the homes of Mr. and Mrs. Ezra Sensibar, Chicago; Dr. and Mrs. Herbert D. Trace, Evanston, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Kaplan, Glencoe.

Main speaker was E. D. Nixon, SCEF board member and organizer of the Montgomery bus protest. He also spoke at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, and before the Adult Education Council of Chicago.

Please contact the SCEF office, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans, if you wish to help in this vital work.

Ministers Speak Out In Houston, Atlanta

Groups of leading white ministers in two major southern cities recently issued statements calling for compliance with the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation.

In Houston, 173 ministers, including leaders of almost every denomination, issued a proclamation urging "every God-fearing citizen to encourage respect for our courts and obedience to all decisions."

The proclamation came soon after a federal judge ordered Houston schools to begin desegregation with all "deliberate speed."

Eighty Atlanta ministers, also including many of the city's long-time religious leaders, signed a manifesto asking for an end to defiance of the U. S. Supreme Court.

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Not by Law Alone

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of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine has made the telling point, quoted in last month's Patriot, that "in South Africa, Christian ministers have to speak *against* the law of the land."

That is precisely what SCEF did for years before the Supreme Court handed down its historic decree in 1954; we spoke *against* what was then the interpreted law of the land; we worked *against* segregation laws, always by legal means of course, because we were convinced desegregation was morally right and was the key to a healthy society for both white and Negro. We were glad when the Supreme Court acted, and we issued a policy statement at that time hailing the fact that "legality and morality have been reunited in the South." We are glad today that as we work for desegregation we work with the power of the law beside us. But we work for desegregation now, as we have in the past, not primarily because it is the law but because it is right.

The difference may seem like hair-splitting to some. But it is not. The reasons and motivation for human action usually determine the final effect of that action—or whether there will be any action at all. Little Rock proves it.

We know, as was pointed out by Patriot correspondents writing from Clinton, Tenn., in the November issue, that there are many white people in the South who are not yet ready to accept desegregation on principle but who can be kept out of the mobs because they respect law and order. We do not minimize the importance of the "law and order" argument in reaching such people.

But we believe that along with this there must be a new crusade in the South to convince more white people that for the health of their minds and the peace of their souls—to say nothing of their economic and physical well-being—desegregation is the right way. There are plenty of so-called "moderates" who will take the "law and order" approach. Those of us prepared to go further should lose no opportunity to do so.

We should talk to our neighbors, speak to our friends and, wherever possible, shout it from the rooftops. In 1954, SCEF said: "Parents must be convinced that the health of their children's minds and the hope of their becoming normal, mature persons, depend on the leveling of the barrier that blocks out half the world and blights their adult behavior." We repeat that statement now.

Unless this is done, the consequence may be more Little Rocks. Or—what might be just as bad—a situation which we already have in many northern cities and which is already a danger in some border cities where token desegregation is progressing: desegregation by law but segregation still in fact. We think we can do better than that in the South if we approach this transition period with boldness and imagination.

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